

## Message Text

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ORIGIN SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 R

DRAFTED BY ARA/MEX:JFKEANE:MM

APPROVED BY ARA:W.D.ROGERS

ARA/MEX:JTDREYFUSS

ARA:WLUERS

EUR/WE:REBARBOUR (DRAFT)

S/S - MR. ORTIZ

----- 115271

O 031830Z OCT 75

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY MEXICO IMMEDIATE

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STADIS////////////////////////////////////

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS-3

TAGS: PFOR, SP, MX

SUBJECT: BRIEFING ON SPAIN FOR GOM

FOR AMBASSADOR JOVA FROM ROGERS

1. AS YOU ARE AWARE, THROUGH SEPARATE CHANNELS MOYA HAS REQUESTED BRIEFING PAPER ON CURRENT SITUATION IN SPAIN BY OCTOBER 4 AT LATEST, FOR HIS USE IN DISCUSSING SPANISH SITUATION WITH PRESIDENT ECHEVERRIA PRIOR TO LATTER'S DEPARTURE FOR UNGA. MOYA HAS BEEN INFORMED THAT YOU WILL CONTACT HIM TO PROVIDE INFORMATION REQUESTED.

2. PLEASE SEEK APPOINTMENT WITH MOYA SOONEST AND PROVIDE HIM WITH INFORMAL, NON-ATTRIBUTABLE WRITTEN MEMORANDUM ALONG FOLLOWING LINES:

INTERPRETATION OF CURRENT SITUATION IN SPAIN:

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-- WHILE TENSIONS ARE RUNNING VERY HIGH, IN THE BASQUE PROVINCES PARTICULARLY, ODDS BETTER THAN EVEN THAT SPAIN WILL NOT DESCEND INTO POLITICAL CHAOS NOW OR WHEN FRANCO PASSES FROM THE SCENE. MOST SPANIARDS HAVE BENEFITED GREATLY FROM EXTRAORDINARY ECONOMIC GROWTH IN THE LAST

FEW DECADES AND THEY REALIZE THAT THIS PROGRESS WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN POSSIBLE WITHOUT STABILITY, WHICH FRANCO, DESPITE HIS FAULTS, HAS PROVIDED. THESE CHANGES - EDUCATION, COMMUNICATIONS, THE GROWTH OF POWERFUL MIDDLE AND LABOR SECTORS, AND THE SPREAD OF MORE CONSERVATIVE VALUE SYSTEMS AMONG THE LARGE MAJORITY WHO NOW KNOW THEY HAVE A STAKE IN STABILITY - ARGUE FOR EVOLUTIONARY RATHER THAN REVOLUTIONARY CHANGE. AN INFINITESIMAL NUMBER OF SPANIARDS WANT REVOLUTION AND EQUALLY FEW WANT AN INDEFINITE CONTINUATION OF THE RIGID FRANQUISTA TYPE OF POLITICAL STRUCTURE. THE BASIC DISAGREEMENTS AMONG SIGNIFICANT POLITICAL SECTORS IS OVER THE PACE OF POLITICAL REFORM AND THE SEQUENCE OF LIBERALIZATION MEASURES.

-- THE BASQUE PROBLEM IS SPECIAL BECAUSE OF HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL UNDERPINNINGS, YET EVEN THERE, THE GOALS OF ETA (EUKADI LA AZKATASUNA OR BASQUE NATION AND FREEDOM, TERRORIST SPLINTER GROUP OF THE BASQUE NATIONALIST MOVEMENT) ARE NOT SHARED BY THE LARGE MAJORITY OF BASQUES WHO VIEW AN EXTREMIST COURSE AS COUNTERPRODUCTIVE, SINCE IT STRENGTHENS THE OPPOSITION ON THE ISSUE OF LAW AND ORDER. THIS IS THE MOST DIFFICULT SPANISH PROBLEM - RECONCILING THE ASPIRATIONS OF THE BASQUES WITH THE REQUIREMENTS OF A COHESIVE, CENTRALIZED NATION STATE - SOMETHING LIKE THE CANADIAN DILEMMA OVER QUEBEC.

-- FRANQUISTA VIEWS STILL PREVAIL AMONG CERTAIN CIRCLES: TOP MILITARY OFFICERS, POLITICAL ELITE, PROVINCIAL LEADERSHIP AND IN SOME SEGMENTS OF THE ECONOMY, ALTHOUGH HERE IT HAS BEEN WEAKENED BY THE RISE OF TECHNOCRATS WHO ARE GROWTH ORIENTED AND SO FAR ESCHEW RADICAL POLITICAL POSITIONS. EVEN THESE GROUPS RECOGNIZE THE NEED FOR SOME LIBERALIZATION.

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-- THE FRENTE REVOLUCIONARIA ANTIFASCISTA Y PATRIOTICA (FRAP) IS A LEFT WING EXTREMIST TERRORIST ORGANIZATION (SOMETHING LIKE 23RD OF SEPTEMBER COMMUNIST LEAGUE), FAR LEFT OF SPANISH COMMUNIST PARTY, WITH ROOTS IN EXTREMIST UNIVERSITY CIRCLES. IT LACKS SUPPORT AND IS WIDELY VIEWED BY THE LEFT AS COUNTERPRODUCTIVE SINCE TERRORISM INFLAMES RIGHT WING FEARS AND PROVIDES A RALLYING CRY FOR KEEPING THE LID ON REFORMS. FROM OUR POINT OF VIEW,

TERRORISM IS ALSO DAMAGING BECAUSE IT TENDS TO FEED ON ITSELF, WITH POLICE REACTION (SEARCHES, SEIZURES, BRUTALITY) PROVOKING ALIENATION OF THE INNOCENT.

-- FOREGOING FACTORS POINT TO A PEACEFUL TRANSITION TOWARD A MORE OPEN POLITICAL SYSTEM, WITHOUT REVOLUTION, BUT ISOLATION BY EUROPE AND THE REST OF THE WORLD WILL ONLY HAMPER SUCH A TRANSITION BY STRENGTHENING THE POSITION OF LEFT AND RIGHT EXTREMISTS WHO WOULD FIND IN SUCH BITTER ISOLATION ARGUMENTS TO USE FOR THEIR OWN PURPOSES. SIMILARY, THE ONLY PREDICTABLE RESULT OF A EUROPEAN BOYCOTT WOULD BE TO GIVE IMPETUS TO THE AFOREMENTIONED UNDESIRABLE RESOLUTION.

-- WHATEVER ONE MIGHT THINK OF THE FRANCO GOVERNMENT, ACTIONS SHOULD BE DIRECTED TOWARDS THE OBJECTIVE OF FACILITATING THE DESIRED AND INEVITABLE POLITICAL TRANSITION RATHER THAN PROVOKING A DESTABILIZING CRISIS THAT WOULD PLAY INTO THE HANDS OF THE EXTREMISTS.

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